

ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD : AL-FALIMBAN'S SCHOLARSHIP

Mohammed Hussain Ahmad

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father, Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin
Pehin Jarvatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*



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Chapter 2

Biographical Data of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī

Introduction

Al-Falimbānī is better known to students of Southeast Asian history as Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī. As his *nishbah* (ascription) indicates, he hailed from the Palembang region in South Sumatra, the second largest island of the modern Republic of Indonesia.¹ Whereas al-Jāwī attached to his name indicates that he came from the Malay Archipelago.²

As individual people are indicated by their *nishbah* formation, we find al-Fādānī indicates a person originating from Padang, al-Banjārī from Banjar, al-Falimbānī from Palembang, al-Fajānī from Pattani, etc. The Arabs, as is known, pronounce the letter 'p' as 'f,' hence I have adopted the transliteration al-Falimbānī (by replacing the 'p' of Palembang with 'f') which I consider more appropriate than other variations.

Though he originated from Palembang, according to the earlier mentioned *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, he had a strong link with Kedah. This traditional account of al-Falimbānī's early life described that it was 'Abd al-Jalīl, the *mufī* of Kedah, who sent both 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad (supposedly his son in Palembang) and 'Abd al-Qādir (his son in Kedah) to Mecca. After years of learning in the Arab world, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was later well-known as 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, whereas 'Abd al-Qādir returned to Kedah and was later appointed as the *mufī*, succeeding his father.³

Furthermore, our contemporary Indonesian traditional scholar, Yūsūf al-Fādānī uses an additional *nishbah* in his *taṣnīf* works where he also describes al-Falimbānī as 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Ashī *ash-shahīr bi* (better known as) al-Falimbānī.⁴ Perhaps, without consulting works of al-Fādānī, this additional *nishbah* to Aceh would have never been brought

to light. As we know that al-Falimbānī originated from Palembang, it is appropriate to assume that he must have obtained this *nisbah* probably due to his stay in Aceh; perhaps when he studied there before going to Arabia. It is customary for traditional Islamic scholars to adopt a *nisbah* of a particular place due to their stay in that place; for instance, the famous eighteenth century lexicographer Muḥammad Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī who was born in India and not in Zabīd, Yemen (and neither died there), acquired this *nisbah* for his prolonged stay during his studies in Zabīd.

Thus, it is highly likely that al-Falimbānī studied in Aceh during his early childhood before embarking to the Arab world. This is very plausible if we take into account that before the rise of Palembang in the eighteenth century as a centre for Islamic learning, leading scholars such as Ḥamzah al-Faṣṣūrī (d. ca. 1016/1607), Shams ad-Dīn as-Sūmātrī or as-Sumātrānī (d. 1040/1630) from Pasai in Sumatra, Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī (1024-1105/1615-93), and Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99), all flourished and became prominent in Aceh a century earlier than al-Falimbānī. This generation was later inherited by an intermediate generation of Aceh scholars in the early eighteenth century such as Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī, his son Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī and others, before the rise of Palembang as the new centre for Islamic learning in the eighteenth century.

From this additional *nisbah*, we can deduce that al-Falimbānī who was born in Palembang must have travelled to and studied in Aceh before pursuing his advanced studies in the centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world.

Obscurity of al-Falimbānī's Pedigree

As already mentioned, al-Falimbānī is commonly cited in scholarly literature as Shaykh 'Abd as-Šamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, leaving the details of his lineage unspecified. This is certainly due to the fact that al-Falimbānī in his own works is only described as 'Abd as-Šamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī without his father's name.⁶ Hence different names have been associated with his father, namely 'Abd Allāh, Faqīh Ḥusayn, 'Abd al-Jalīl, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān.

The Dutch linguist, Petrus Voorhoeve in a short biography of al-Falimbānī, asserts that 'Abd Allāh was his father.⁶ It is not clear from where he derived this name but perhaps, as the French philologist Henri Chambert-Loir noted, this ascription originally came from a manuscript copy of *Zahrat al-Murīd* which was authored by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh.⁷ Though further discussion of *Zahrat al-Murīd* follows later, it is worthwhile mentioning here that abundant numbers of manuscript copies of this work can be found deposited in most of the libraries holding Malay *Jāwī* manuscripts, which certainly indicates that this work was once very popular and widely circulated in the archipelago. Most of these manuscript copies present the name of the author as 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān or 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, without his father's name. Nevertheless, there are also a few copies which give 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh as the author. Hence the copy mentioned by Chambert-Loir must have been one of the few copies that bear the name 'Abd Allāh.⁸

Among one of the manuscripts that carries the name 'Abd Allāh, there is a particular copy held by the Islamic Arts Museum of Malaysia that caught my attention. This manuscript was copied by Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī (1280-1367/1863-1948), better known among locals as 'Tok Kelaba' (derived from the place where he dwelled; Kelaba in Pattani). He was a renowned scholar in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century who authored several treatises and copied substantial numbers of works by scholars of previous generations, thus he is one of the more reliable copyists.⁹ This manuscript, as noted earlier, was copied in Tok Kelaba's own handwriting and interestingly, despite recording the name "'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh' in the title and text, he made an amendment in the marginal text from "'Abd Allāh' to "'Abd ar-Raḥmān."¹⁰ This leads to the conclusion that the attribution of 'Abd Allāh as al-Falimbānī's father was an error which was corrected by Tok Kelaba as it appears that this correction was written in his own handwriting.

A hypothesis that can be considered in illustrating this attribution is that it was merely a pure coincidence that two other *Jāwī* authors who were contemporaneous to our al-Falimbānī, namely Muḥammad Arshad

b. 'Abd Allāh h. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Banjārī (1122-1227/1710-1812) the renowned author of *Sabīl al-Muṭtaḍīn* (The Path of the Guided); and perhaps the most prolific *Jāwī* author, Dāwūd h. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī (1176-1263/1763-1846), both carried the same father's name. This probably has somehow contributed to the confusion of al-Falimbānī's pedigree when copyists of his work unintentionally supplemented the name 'Abd Allāh as his father. This is highly plausible if we take into account that most of al-Falimbānī's own works do not provide us with his father's name.

Another name that has been associated with al-Falimbānī's father and probably the least common among all as it can only be found in Malay works, is Faqīh Ḥusayn.¹¹ Without doubt this vagueness is a consequence of a treatise held by the Malay collections titled *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* (Delight for the Pious) which bears the name 'Abd as-Şamad h. Faqīh Ḥusayn b. Faqīh Muḥammad as the author.¹² As the author's name of this treatise resembles that of al-Falimbānī himself, our contemporary Malaysian scholar Shaghīr Abdullah has considered Faqīh Ḥusayn as his father and further alleged that *Anīs al-Muttaqīn* was authored by him.¹³

As whether al-Falimbānī was indeed the author of this treatise or not is in dispute, it is more appropriate to be dealt with in the chapter on the works of al-Falimbānī. However, it is important to point out that according to my findings, 'Abd as-Şamad b. Faqīh Ḥusayn h. Faqīh Muḥammad is likely to have been an Arab scholar, which can be deduced from the eloquent Arabic he demonstrates in this treatise, and is thus a completely different figure from 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī.¹⁴

Meanwhile, some contemporary studies mentioned that al-Falimbānī was the son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Jalīl (d. 1196/1782), a wandering scholar who originally comes from Ṣan'ā', Yemen.¹⁵ This definitely comes to us via the traditional account of his life in Muḥammad Ḥassan b. Dato' Kerani Muḥammad's (1868-1943) *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*, a genealogical history of Kedah and its rulers. It is worthwhile to mention that contemporary scholarly literature describes this work as '*al-Tārīkh Salasilah Negeri Kedah*,' probably following the Romanised version by Mohd. Zahid b. Mohd. Shah of the original *Jāwī* publication. However, the author himself clearly indicated that he named his work *Tawārīkh Silsilah [Negeri Kedah]*.¹⁶ The traditional accounts on 'Abd as-Şamad

al-Falimbāni in this source are not to be ignored, however it should be treated cautiously because some of its contents contradict findings from other sources. The compiler, Muhammad Hasan describes himself as the great great-grandson of 'Abd al-Jalīl thus having a strong link with him. He tells us that:

"in accordance with the royal decree, the *Tawārīkh Silsilah* was compiled by Muhammad Hassan b. Dato' Kerani Muhammad – 'Irshad Rahsia' (confidant of) al-Marhum Sulṭān Ahmad Tajuddin Mukarram Shah Yang Maha Mulia – b. Tuan Shaykh Abū Bakr Qāḍī (judge) b. Tuan Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Muḥṭī [of Kedah] b. Tuan Shaykh 'Abd al-Jalīl Muḥṭī [of Kedah] b. Tuan Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Tuan Shaykh Ahmad al-Mahdānī (perhaps a distortion of the Arabic family name al-Muḥḍālī or al-Hamdānī) [from] Yemen. *Bandar* (city of) Ṣan'ā'."¹⁷

According to Muhammad Hassan, his great grandfather, 'Abd al-Qādir who was the son of the wandering Yemeni scholar 'Abd al-Jalīl, is alleged to have been a half brother of our 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbāni as his mother was a noble woman from Kedah, whereas 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's mother was a local Palembang woman. He tells us that upon 'Abd al-Jalīl's arrival in Kedah he was appointed as the state *muḥṭī* by the Sulṭān who then facilitated his marriage to a daughter of one of his nobles, Wan Zainah, with whom he later had two sons: 'Abd al-Qādir and 'Abd Allāh. A few months after his arrival in Kedah, 'Abd al-Jalīl was visited by his former student, Raden Siman who invited him to travel to Palembang to meet other former students there. Soon after his arrival, 'Abd al-Jalīl married one of the local Palembang woman, perhaps also from among the daughters of the nobles. It was from this marriage, according to Muhammad Hassan, that a son by the name 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was born.¹⁸ Thus according to this source, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbāni was the son of 'Abd al-Jalīl.

However, from the writings of the contemporary Indonesian traditionalist Islamic scholar, Shaykh Yāsīn al-Fādānī, this obscurity can now be clarified as he provides us with a crucial piece of information. According to al-Fādānī, who himself was a renowned *muhaddith* of *Jāwī* origin in Mecca, in his *isnāds* linking him to al-Falimbāni not only did he mention 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's name but also provides his full

lineage as "Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Falimbānī".²⁰ Therefore, if we accept this piece of evidence, it is obvious that 'Abd al-Jalīl, the supposed father of al-Falimbānī was actually his grandfather and not his father.

The last of these names to be associated with al-Falimbānī's father is 'Abd ar-Raḥmān.²¹ After a comprehensive investigation, I am convinced that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān is indeed al-Falimbānī's father as he himself uses and gives his full name as 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī in at least in three of his works, among them his earlier mentioned *Zahrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kahmat al-Tawḥīd*. It is believed that this is the first work that al-Falimbānī wrote and it was completed in Mecca on 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1178/12 June 1765. According to its author, this work was written to fulfil the request of some of his friends to translate into Malay *Jāwī* the lecture in Arabic given by his teacher Shaykh Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damanḥūrī (1101-92/1690-1778) in Mecca during the *Ḥajj* in that year.²² The second place where his father's name, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān was mentioned is in a manuscript copy of *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā* (The firm bond and the genealogy of the most God-fearing saint) by whom he meant his renowned Ṣūfī master in Medina, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān. According to the *silsilah* recorded in this manuscript, this copy was received by Sulaymān of Lamhirah, Aceh, from Maḥmūd [b. Kinān al-Falimbānī] who in turn received it from 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.²³ Obviously this copy was written by a student of one of al-Falimbānī's disciple.

The third place where his father's name, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān can be sighted is in a manuscript copy of al-Falimbānī's *Zūd al-Muttaqīn fī Tarḥīd Rabb al-'Ālānīn* (Sustenance for the Pious on the oneness of the Lord of the Universe), a treatise written to clarify the Ṣūfī doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*.²⁴ This copy clearly (which I have edited and translated), indicates that it was written and copied in Mecca from the original writing of al-Falimbānī himself, most probably by one of his disciples there. As al-Falimbānī himself provides his father's name as 'Abd ar-Raḥmān in these three works, there is no reason to doubt this ascription.

In addition, there is strong supporting external evidence that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān was indeed al-Falimbānī's father as this was clearly

mentioned by one of his close disciples, Wajih ad-Din 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Sulaymān b. Yahyā b. 'Umar al-Ahdal (1179-1250/1766-1835), the *mufīd* of Zabīd, Yemen.²⁴ In fact 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal was among al-Falimbānī's last students in Zabīd where he taught in the year 1206/1791. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal obviously considered al-Falimbānī as one of his most important teachers since he included his biographical account in his *thabat*, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, a compilation of his teachers and some of their biographical accounts. As mentioned earlier, among his teachers there whom he terms '*al-wāfīdīn ilā madīnat Zabīd*' (those who were visiting scholars in Zabīd), al-Ahdal includes "our Shaykh *al-'allāmah* (the great scholar), *al-walī* (the saint), *al-fahhāmah* (the astute), *at-taqī* (the pious), *wajih al-Islām* (notable of Islam), 'Abd as-Samad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāwī who arrived at the city of Zabīd in the year 1206/1791."²⁵

This is indeed very concrete evidence since 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal himself met and studied with al-Falimbānī and later recorded his biography in his book. As mentioned in the previous chapter, al-Falimbānī was among the first known *Jāwī* scholar to have a biographical notice recorded in Arabic writings and al-Ahdal's work is the first ever known Arabic source to provide us with a biographical notice of a *Jāwī* scholar active in Yemen. Without doubt this definitely reflects al-Falimbānī's esteemed position in his teaching career; not only was he the only *Jāwī* scholar among his compatriots to have earned this highly revered status, but also the significant notice by 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, who himself was a *mufīd* of Zabīd, clearly indicates that he was one of his most important teachers as he was chosen among hundreds of other '*ulamā'* who lived during that time to be included in his work.

Furthermore, all the *isnāds* of al-Falimbānī in the writings of Shaykh Yāsīn al-Fādānī clearly point out that 'Abd ar-Rahmān was his father's name, which corroborates al-Ahdal's notice.²⁶ Similarly, this conclusion can also be seen in the *isnād* works of other scholars of Mecca. For instance, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Quds al-Jāwī al-Makkī (1280-1334/1863-1915) in his *isnād* of the *al-Khawāṭiriyah as-Saunmāniyyah* *Ṣūfī* Order points out that he received membership of this Order from his three teachers, 'Umar, and his brother Bakrī, both sons of Muḥammad Shaṭṭā ad-Dīmyāṭī, and from Ḥusayn h. Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī, all of them in turn received

it from 'Aydārūs b. 'Umar al-Ĥabshī (1237-1314/1831-96). 'Aydārūs al-Ĥabshī in his *ʿIqd al-Yawwāqūt al-Jawharīyyah* in turn relates that he obtained his membership in this Order via several teachers, all of whom received it from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal, who received it from 'Abd as-Şamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jūwī al-Falimbānī, who in turn received it directly from the founder of the *al-Khalwatīyyah as-Sammānīyyah* Order, Muḥammad as-Sammān.²⁷ This strongly corroborates that all the *isnāds* recorded by earlier scholars accord with the writings of Yāsīn al-Fādānī. At the same time this also highlights 'Abd as-Şamad al-Falimbānī's esteemed position in the *Şūfī Silsilah* of the eighteenth century in the Arab world.

Thus, if we accept the ancestry of 'Abd al-Jalīl from the traditional account of al-Falimbānī in *Tawārīkh Silsilah* to be accurate, we can give the genealogy of al-Falimbānī as 'Abd as-Şamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Jalīl b. 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Aḥmad al-Maḥdānī, evidently showing that he was a descendant of Arab progenitors who originated from Ṣan'ā', Yemen.

It is worth noting that perhaps because of his Arab progenitors, Azumardi Azra asserts that al-Falimbānī was born to a Sayyid father who according to him accords with both the Malay and Arabic sources that mentioned him as a Sayyid.²⁸ However, according to my findings it is evident that al-Falimbānī was not a Sayyid and this can be supported by several pieces of evidence.

The first piece of evidence is that with the exception of 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Bayṭār, all his biographers such as 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal, Şiddīq al-Qannūjī, 'Aydārūs al-Ĥabshī, 'Abd al-Ĥayy al-Kattānī, and Kaḥḥālāh never mentioned that al-Falimbānī was a Sayyid. It is important to note that al-Bayṭār (1253-1335/1837-1916) lived decades after al-Falimbānī's period, while the other biographers lived earlier and some even met al-Falimbānī himself. The second evidence, contradictory to al-Bayṭār is 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal who himself was a Sayyid and was one of al-Falimbānī's closest students who clearly distinguished between his Sayyid and non-Sayyid teachers in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* by using 'Sayyid' for the first and 'Shaykh' for the second, respectively. He certainly did not describe al-Falimbānī as 'as-Sayyid' and only refers him as 'ash-Shaykh al-'Alīmah etc.'²⁹ In addition, the earlier

mentioned traditional account in *Tawārīkh Silsilah* does not support al-Bayṭār as it too does not indicate that any of al-Falimbānī's ancestors was a Sayyid, though stating that they originated from Ṣan'ā', Yemen. And finally, al-Falimbānī never ascribed the title Sayyid to himself in any of his writings, only describing his work as authored by 'ash-Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī'.

Significance of al-Falimbānī's Birth

Though it is clear that al-Falimbānī originated from Palembang as discussed above, there have never been any clear sources that indicate his year of birth which remains obscure to this day. Nevertheless, deriving from *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*, Azyumardi Azra assumes that al-Falimbānī was born about 1116/1704, four years after the arrival of his supposed father 'Abd al-Jalīl' in Kedah in 1112/1700.³² In fact Chatīb Qurẓwain, writing in 1986 had already suggested that al-Falimbānī must have been born three or four years after the appointment of 'Abd al-Jalīl as the new *mufī* of Kedah in 1112/1700.³³

However, this contradicts *Tawārīkh Silsilah* itself as both Azra and Qurẓwain fail to observe the date of arrival of 'Abd al-Jalīl together with Sulṭān Muḥammad Jiwā Zayn al-'Āhidīn Mu'azzam Shāh (r. 1710-1778) in Kedah, which was on the 20 Sha'bān 1122/14 October 1710, a decade later.³⁴ The Sulṭān was a student of 'Abd al-Jalīl himself and after his coronation appointed his teacher the new *mufī* of Kedah.³⁵ This suggests that it is impossible that al-Falimbānī was born in 1116/1704 as his supposed father 'Abd al-Jalīl had not yet arrived in Kedah by that time. Besides this, I have demonstrated above that 'Abd al-Jalīl was in fact his grandfather.

Furthermore, after a comprehensive search I was able to trace one of al-Falimbānī's earliest teachers in Arabia, 'Imād ad-Dīn Yahyā h. 'Umar Maqbūl al-Ahdal (1073-1147/1662-1734). He was the *mufī* of Zabīd and the grandfather of al-Falimbānī's student mentioned earlier, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yahyā h. 'Umar al-Ahdal, the author of *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. In fact, the al-Ahdal family occupied a distinguished position in Zabīd as from this family the *mufī* had been appointed for generations, at least four generations successively.³⁶ As stated by al-ʿĀdānī in his *imād*,

al-Falimbānī studied al-Ḥafīẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Bulūḡ al-Marrām* and all of his other works directly with Yahyā al-Ahdal and attended his teaching sessions.³⁵ Since we know that Yahyā al-Ahdal passed away in 1147/1734, al-Falimbānī must have met him at the latest by that. From examining all available biographical notices of Yahyā al-Ahdal, it is clear that he never travelled to the Malay Archipelago as did other wandering scholars from Yemen. His biographers point out that he travelled to Mecca only once to perform the *ḥajj* in the year 1106/1694 when he met Ahmad an-Nakhḥī (d. 1130/1717), one of the renowned *muhaddiths* of Mecca at that time.³⁶ Thus, it is impossible for al-Falimbānī to have met Yahyā al-Ahdal either in the Archipelago as the latter had never travelled there, or in Mecca in 1106/1694 as he was not born yet at that time.

As we already know from the works of al-Ḥādānī, al-Falimbānī only had the opportunity to study the works of Ibn Ḥajar, especially his *Bulūḡ al-Marrām*, with Yahyā al-Ahdal, which very likely indicates that he only met him in the last period of his life or just before his death. We must assume that al-Falimbānī met and studied with him before the year 1147/1734 in Zabīd, as we can calculate backwards from this date and roughly estimate his year of birth. Also, if we take into account Snouck Hurgronje's observation of the *Jāwī* community in Mecca, it was normal practice among the more religious *Jāwī* parents who could afford it to send their sons at a young age to the Arabic Islamic learning centres, especially Mecca, to study Islamic religious sciences and to perform the *ḥajj*.³⁷ Though he did not tell us exactly the age of such students, we can observe from biographical notices on *Jāwī* students, especially of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.H. (nineteenth and twentieth centuries A.D.), that several of them were sent to Mecca at six and eight years of age, and that perhaps the norm was between twelve and fifteen.³⁸

Assuming that al-Falimbānī was fifteen when he first reached the Arabian Peninsula, therefore his birth should have been approximately around the year 1132/1719.³⁹ This date can be accepted as probable as can be seen later in the discussion of the age-group of scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came in contact and studied with, and from the dates of his works, which will be discussed and elaborated further in subsequent chapters.⁴⁰ We have already seen that his genealogy traced back to an Arab family from Ṣan'ā', Yemen. Thus it is highly plausible

that his father 'Abd ar-Rahmān or his grandfather 'Abd al-Jalīl, the *mufli* of Kedah, a prominent religious personality, would have sent him to Yemen to pursue his religious studies at the age of fifteen or perhaps even younger. Moreover, al-Falimbānī through his paternal grandfather must have had relatives back in Yemen to whom he could be entrusted to as his guardians. It is important to note that during his time, Yemen was also regarded among the esteemed centres for traditional Islamic learning with prestigious Islamic scholars. His predecessors such as 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī studied in three cities in Yemen; al-Mokha (Mocha), Zabīd, and Bayt al-Faqīh, before continuing his studies further in Mecca and Medina. From the list of al-Falimbānī's teachers, it is evident that he also studied in Yemen, particularly in Zabīd before pursuing his studies further in Mecca and Medina.

Furthermore, the date 1116/1704 which has been suggested as his year of birth by Quzwain and Azra, apart from contradicting *Tawārīkh Silsilah* itself, is also very doubtful as he would have been about sixty-two years old when he wrote and completed his first work, *Zahrat al-Murīd* in Mecca in 1178/1765. In the context of his time, it seems a highly unrealistic to start a writing career at such an old age. On the contrary, if we accept the suggestion that he was born around 1132/1719, he would have been around forty-six years when he first started his authorship; an age which can be regarded as more acceptable and appropriate to be productive after years of study. Hence, according to my finding, we can confidently accept the year 1132/1719 as the more appropriate date to be the approximate year of birth of al-Falimbānī, unless further evidence contradicts this. However, it is possible that al-Falimbānī might have been born a few years later from the above suggested date if we have further evidence to show that he was younger than fifteen years when he first travelled to Zabīd. Unfortunately, at this stage we do not have any biographical accounts of his father, 'Abd ar-Rahmān, who himself could possibly have brought al-Falimbānī to Yemen at a very early age to study with its '*ulamā*'.

Conflicting Reports on al-Falimbānī's Death

There have always been conflicting dates surrounding al-Falimbānī's life as we can see from the previous discussion. His death is no exception.

According to Azra, al-Bayṭār recorded that al-Falimbānī died after 1200/1785. Thus, he himself suggests that most probably al-Falimbānī died in 1203/1789, the date of completion of his final and most acclaimed work, *Ṣayr al-Sālikīn*. He also states that although al-Bayṭār does not mention the place where al-Falimbānī died, there is a strong suggestion, according to him, that he died in Arabia.⁴¹

However, this claim is purely based on an assumption that al-Falimbānī died upon the completion of his final work, *Ṣayr al-Sālikīn* and not on actual facts from any sources indicating the time and place of his death. His assumption strongly contradicts the fact that al-Falimbānī was still alive for some time after the completion of his *Ṣayr al-Sālikīn*. This is verified by his earlier mentioned student, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ahdal who confirmed that he arrived as an established scholar at Zahīd in the year 1206/1791, three years after completing his *Ṣayr al-Sālikīn*.⁴² Moreover, Azra himself does not seem to realize that al-Bayṭār, despite mentioning that al-Falimbānī died after 1200/1785, also quoted from *an-Nafas al-Yamīnī* that al-Falimbānī was reported to have arrived in Zabīd in the year 1206/1791, indicating that he was still alive at least up to that year.⁴³ Probably because al-Falimbānī's year of death was unknown to al-Bayṭār that he only points out that he died after 1200/1785 and because he reported that al-Falimbānī was alive in 1206/1791 that he included him in his biographical dictionary on scholars from the thirteenth century Hijrī. Thus with the above argument, it is evident that al-Falimbānī did not die in 1203/1789 as concluded by Azra.

Another source I found to provide information on al-Falimbānī's year of death is the work of al-Fīdānī in annotating the *ṥabat* of *al-Muḥaddith al-Musnid* Muḥammad Maḥfūz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Tarmasī (d. 1338/1920). In this *ṥabat* entitled *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, he states that the year of death of al-Falimbānī was 1211/1796. However, he does not indicate his source for this.⁴⁴ Despite his esteemed position as one of the Meccan prominent *muḥaddiths* in the twentieth century and that he was reported to have written biographical dictionaries on

Shāfiʿī scholars focusing on the *Jāwī* 'ulamā', this information is to be treated cautiously. This is due to strong evidence that indicate that al-Falimbānī was still alive after 1211/1796. For one of his *Jāwī* students who studied under him in Mecca, Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar b. 'Arabi al-Jāwī al-Bantanī al-Makkī (d. 1314/1896), was not yet born by that year. This can be confirmed from al-Fādānī's *isnād* as he frequently recorded in several of his works that he himself received his teachings from his teachers who were students of Nawawī al-Bantanī, who in turn received his teachings from al-Falimbānī himself.⁴⁵ According to his biographical accounts, Nawawī al-Bantanī was born in Banten, West Java in 1230/1814 and was said to have left the archipelago for Mecca at the age of fifteen.⁴⁶ Therefore, for Nawawī al-Bantanī to have studied directly under al-Falimbānī, he must have met him in Mecca at the earliest by the year 1245/1829, which indicates that al-Falimbānī must have still been alive at that time.

Furthermore, I have also found another student of al-Falimbānī whose biographical notice is available. Again it is from al-Fādānī's *isnād* that we can trace the Egyptian scholar, 'Uthmān b. Ḥasan ad-Dimyāṭī al-Miṣrī (1197-1265/1782-1848) as one of al-Falimbānī's students in Mecca.⁴⁷ 'Uthmān ad-Dimyāṭī was born in Dimyāṭ, Egypt and stayed and taught at the Egyptian prestigious Islamic educational institution, al-Azhar. Eventually he migrated to Mecca in the year 1243/1827 when he must have met with al-Falimbānī.⁴⁸ This also proves that al-Falimbānī was still alive and teaching in Mecca during that time. Thus, the year 1211/1796 given by al-Fādānī to be the year of al-Falimbānī's death cannot be accepted as the above evidence invalidate it.

So far, the only known traditional account to supply the date of al-Falimbānī's death is the earlier mentioned Muḥammad's *Tawārīkh Sibīlāh Negeri Kedah*. It is reported that al-Falimbānī was killed in a *jihād* against the Siamese (Thais) in 1244/1828. According to Muḥammad, after the Siamese invasion of Kedah (in February 1822), there were several rebellions against the Siamese occupation. Of these, there were two major important uprisings which receive particular attention in historical records. The first was led by Sayyid Zayn al-'Āhidīn, better known as Tunku Kudin (nephew of the Sultān of Kedah); and the second by Tunku Muḥammad Sa'd. Al-Falimbānī who happened to be in Kedah

visiting his supposedly half brother 'Abd al-Qādir the *muftī*, is reported to have participated in this and to have been killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese when the Malays were attacked near the town of Singgora (modern Songkhla), at present in Southern Thailand. Despite providing a rather detailed account of the events, Muhammad fails to supply us with precise dates. He neglects the year for the first uprising and assumes the second event took place in the year 1244/1828.⁴⁹

As the death of al-Falimbānī from this source is directly related to the historical event of both Kedah and Siam (modern Thailand), it is important to consult both the historical records of Kedah and Siam during this period as they can provide clues to the year of death of al-Falimbānī. There appears to be a consensus of historical evidence that the major outbreak in Kedah carried out by Tunku Kudin occurred in January 1831 [1246 A.H.], when he and his supporters successfully drove the Siamese out and gained control of Kedah. About a year later, in April 1832 [1247 A.H.], the Siamese were able to reconquer Kedah, largely because of the British blockade of Kedah coast, thus preventing supplies from Penang from reaching the Malay rebels. The British felt obligated to assist the Siamese due to their pledge in the Burney treaty to prevent supporters of Kedah's ex-Sultān from attacking Kedah. Eventually, Tunku Kudin was killed in the battle.⁵⁰

Six years later, in 1838 [1253 A.H.] another outbreak occurred when Tunku Muhammad Sa'd and Tunku 'Abd Allāh (both nephews of the Sultān of Kedah) launched another attack on Kedah. The Malay force succeeded in capturing Kedah and advanced upon Trang in Nakhon territory and easily captured it. After the capture of Trang, they marched across the peninsula to attack Singgora, and advanced to within two miles of the town of Songkhla. The Malays continued to hold Kedah while the town of Songkhla remained besieged, and they succeeded in repulsing Siamese attempts to expel them. It was not until February 1839 [Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254 A.H.], that the Siamese with four thousand troops launched a concerted counter attack and finally broke the Malay resistance. By March 1839, Kedah was once again recaptured by the Siamese.

As Muhammad confirmed, the war in which al-Falimbānī is reported to have participated together with Tunku Muhammad Sa'd, was the second uprising when he was reported to have been killed when

the Siamese attacked the Malays near the town of Songkhla. Therefore the date 1244/1828 that he assumed to be the year of this second war is inaccurate and contradicts all historical records of Kedah and Siam that point out that war did not happen until 1253/1838. Furthermore, the war in 1244/1828, according to historical records, was actually the first uprising led by Tunku Kudin, for which Muhammad did not supply us with any date. In addition, our contemporary Malaysian historian Shamsudin Yusoff has shown that the war between Kedah and Siam from 1838 to 1839 led by Tunku Muhammad Sa'd was clearly recorded in correspondence between Kelantan and Pattani dated 13 Sha'bān 1254/1 November 1838, when the Sulṭān of Kelantan initially wanted to send three thousand men to help the neighbouring Kedah but had to change his decision when he learned that the Kedah Malays were gaining victory in the war and had advanced as far as Songkhla.⁵¹

From the above discussion, we now know that the Kedah war against the Siamese in which al-Falimbānī is reported to have participated took place in 1253/1838 and it was not until Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254/February 1839 when the Siamese with four thousand troops launched a concerted attack managed to break the Malay resistance in Singgora. Since al-Falimbānī was reported to have died in the town of Singgora, it is highly probable that he was killed during the Siamese concerted attack in Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254/February 1839.

Furthermore, I have found new evidence surrounding the death of al-Falimbānī, as it is documented in one of the manuscript copies of litanies by al-Falimbānī which I consulted. According to this manuscript copy, al-Falimbānī is clearly described as *ash-shahīd* (martyr), which corroborates the account that he was killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese. In addition, an addendum is supplied to this manuscript relating the *hawl* (anniversary of the death) of prominent Islamic religious figures including the Prophet SAW, his companions: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Hamzah, and 'Ā'ishah bint Abū Bakr, often referred to by the title 'Mother of the Believers.' Later Islamic scholars are also included such as ash-Shāfi'ī, al-Ghazālī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, Muḥammad as-Sammān and finally al-Falimbānī, whose *hawl* is given to be on the night of 17 Dhū al-Qa'dah. Obviously, this addendum to al-Falimbānī's own work is written by one of his

students as he was referred as '*shaykhunā*' (our shaykh).⁵² Though the name of the scribe is not supplied, this copy was written on 27 Rejab 1266/8 June 1850.⁵³

By analysing all the above evidence, we can now conclude that al-Falimbānī died on 17 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254 A.H., the year of the Siamese concerted attack on Kedah. Converting this date to A.D., it agrees with 1 February 1839, which accords with the historical records of Siam concerning their control over Kedah.⁵⁴

The anecdote in *Tawārīkh Silsilah* on the death of al-Falimbānī in the *jihād* against the Siamese can now be supported by new evidence. I found two manuscript copies pointing out that al-Falimbānī was a martyr; in the first copy, he was described as "martyr in the cause of God" (*ash-shahīd fī sabīl Allāh*) and in the second copy, in a line of as-Sammān's *tawassul* (supplicating God by means of an intermediary) it reads "we supplicate through them ... he is martyr 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, initial certainty through the Master (as-Sammān), and additional certainty through the martyr" (*fāqad tawassaluḥ bihim ... huwā ash-shahīd 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, awal al-yaqīn bi 'Istādih, wa-zād al-yaqīn bi 'sh-shahīd*).⁵⁵ Though no name of the copyist is provided in either manuscript, it is clear that they were scribed by one of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's own students as he describes him as '*shaykhunā*' (our Shaykh) and '*istādihunā*' (our Professor).⁵⁶ It is not surprising that al-Falimbānī joined the *jihād* as he himself produced two tracts on *jihād* in Arabic, the first entitled *Nazīhat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn*, intended as an advice to the Muslims and reminder for the believers about the virtue of *jihād* and the dignity of the combatant in the cause of God; and the second, an addendum to the exposition of the benefits of striving in the cause of God entitled *Mufḥaḥ fī Bayān al-Fawā'id an-Nāfi'ah fī 'l-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh*.⁵⁷

Furthermore, if we take into account the encroachment of European powers in the Arab world, South Asia, as well as in Southeast Asia, we can conclude that all this had triggered the Muslim concern with *jihād* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This sentiment can be seen in al-Falimbānī himself. As already observed by Drewes, al-Falimbānī sent two letters in 1772 to the prince of Central Java to introduce two religious figures who most probably were his own disciples returning

to Java as well as a reminder to the Sulţān of Mataram of the Qur'ānic tradition that those who fall in the *jihād* are not dead but alive. This is in addition to producing two tracts on *jihād* mentioned above. According to Andaya and Ishii it was not only Europeans who were the target of Islamic feeling, for at the same time it was reported that several hundred *hadjis* (pilgrims) led by a '*shaykh*' from Mecca were gathering in Kedah to make war on the infidel Siamese.⁵⁸ It is possible that this anonymous '*shaykh*' was al-Falimbānī himself, as he was the only prominent *Jāwī* scholar during that period whom we have found records to have travelled back to Kedah and joined the war against the Siamese.

Such awakening of *jihād* sentiment is found among the *Jāwī* community in Mecca in the nineteenth century. Among the questions posed by the *Jāwī* students to the Meccan *muftī* Ahmad Dahlan was asking him for a *fatwā* on the situation when the unbelievers occupied their land and the Muslims were not capable of repelling them. In such a situation, are the unbelievers to be treated and considered as a 'protected people' (*adh-dhimmi*) thus, making it unlawful for their possessions to be taken; or are they to be treated like those with whom we are at war (*al-ḥarbī*)? Ahmad Dahlan answered by saying that if the above mentioned unbelievers have a peaceful reconciliation with the Muslims, then it is not permissible to take any of their possessions.⁵⁹

It also appears that there was something in the experience of studying within the network of scholars in the Islamic centres that inspired some students to engage directly in a reformist mission. For instance, as we will see later, one of al-Falimbānī's Syrian teachers, the Damascene Ahmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1218/1803), was reported to have gathered up and called the public for *jihād* against the French occupation of Egypt in 1214/1799. Not only did he gather an army, but he himself participated and marched with the troops to the front line to motivate and give moral support to them.⁶⁰ This kind of attitude may explain that of al-Falimbānī himself in wishing to join the *jihād* against the Siamese upon his return to Kedah. However, taking into consideration his age at that time, probably his role and intention to participate in such *jihād* apart from the promised reward in the immortal life in the hereafter, was to provide moral support for the Kedah Malays as he was a highly revered scholar among the *Jāwīs*. Furthermore, since he was

a prominent *Šāfi* master, for the Kedah Malays his presence was solely for the sake of anticipating *barakah* from him rather than giving direct military benefit to them.

As concluded earlier, al-Falimbānī's birth was approximately in the year 1132/1719 and he died in the year 1254/1839, hence, he must have lived for about one hundred and twenty two years. Perhaps to some people, living more than a hundred years might appear unrealistic. However, not only al-Falimbānī but also several of his contemporaries have been reported to have lived to an advanced age. For instance, Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī (1122-1227/1710-1812) was reported to have lived for one hundred and five years, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb as-Siantanī (1120-1239/1708-1824) lived for one hundred and nineteen years, Shaykh Wan Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī lived for one hundred and twenty years, and the most prolific *Jāwī* author, Shaykh Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī (d. 1263/1846) was reported to have lived for more than one hundred years. Like others, he is described by al-Fādānī and Mamdūh as *al-mu'ammar* (long-lived).⁶¹ Although one may doubt that they lived to such an advanced age, al-Fādānī has frequently described and referred to al-Falimbānī as "*al-mu'ammar* 'Abd as-Šamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī," indicating that he was granted a long life.⁶²

Shaghir Abdullah has argued that the anecdote on the death of al-Falimbānī in the *jihād* can now be further supported by evidence that the grave of al-Falimbānī has recently been discovered between the village of Sekom (Sakom) and Cenak (Chana), in northern Pattani. He states that the site, according to the locals as passed by word of mouth from generation to generation, is believed to have been the grave of al-Falimbānī.⁶³ Perhaps, with the evidence that I have discussed above, this oral tradition can now be given some acceptance. Though, it is impossible to know for sure where he was precisely buried, at least we now know that he died somewhere in that region during the harsh Siamese response to the Malay rebellions during that time.

Thus, from the available information gathered from various sources and from the above discussion, we can conclude that 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī was killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese on 17 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254/1 February 1839.

Al-Falimbānī's Offspring

Unfortunately there are no biographical accounts of al-Falimbānī that have ever mentioned his marriage, family or offspring. However, we do have evidence regarding his offspring, namely his daughter Fāṭimah bint 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbāniyyah. This information is deduced from her *isnād* which according to al-Fādānī includes among her teachers with whom she studied her own father 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Falimbānī.⁶⁵ Perhaps, it was through her father's instruction and guidance that she too later became a learned scholar, described by the title '*al-mursnidah*' (a prominent scholar of *ḥadīth* with its *isnād*) and she is said to have compiled her *isnāds* and list of teachers in her *thaḥat* entitled *al-Falāḥis al-Qā'imah fī Asānūd Fāṭimah*.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate this work despite an extensive search. However, from the list of students who studied with her, it is evident that she was also among the learned scholars of Mecca. Her students include both *Jāwī* and Arab scholars in Mecca such as the earlier mentioned Nawawi al-Bantānī, who also studied with her father before studying with her, Muḥammad Arshad b. As'ad al-Bantānī better known as Arshad al-*Tawīl* (due to his physical height), Muḥammad Azharī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Falimbānī the author of *Baḍī' az-Zamān fī Bayān 'Aqā'id 'l-Imān*, and the Meccan Egyptian scholar Aḥmad ad-Dīnyāfī who was the *mufī* of the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca.⁶⁷ However, apart from the list of students that we can extract from her *isnāds*, there is no further indication or evidence to show whether or not she was married and had offspring.

In addition to Fāṭimah, we also have evidence that al-Falimbānī had other children. This is clearly recorded in a *qasidah* (poem) written by one of his contemporaries, most probably one of his students. This poem clearly indicates that al-Falimbānī had some children. The line of poetry reads "*wa 's-sa'da lāzāla bi 'l-awākidi muntarinan* [and may happiness continue upon your children]."⁶⁸ As the composer of the *qasidah* himself was a contemporary of al-Falimbānī, this is significant evidence to support the fact that he had other children besides Fāṭimah. However, at this stage, until further information or evidence is found, this is the extent of our knowledge about his children.

Al-Falimbānī's Travels

In the Archipelago: Kedah, Pattani, Aceh and Batavia

There is no clear account available on 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī's travels in his early years in the Archipelago. However, as his grandfather 'Abd al-Jalīl was himself a religious teacher who was later appointed as the *muftī* of Kedah, it is highly probable that he himself instructed and taught al-Falimbānī his rudimentary religious knowledge at the early stage of his age where he must have been brought from Palembang to Kedah to live with him.

Shaghir Abdullah indicates from the traditional narrative of al-Falimbānī's life, it was 'Abd al-Jalīl the *muftī* of Kedah who sent 'Abd as-Šamad, 'Abd al-Qādir and Wan 'Abd Allāh to the *pondok* (traditional Islamic learning institutions) in Pattani, namely, *Pondok Bendang Daya*, *Pondok Bendang Guchil* in Kerisik, *Pondok Kuaka Bekah*, and *Pondok Semala*.⁴⁸ In addition, Abdullah also asserts that during al-Falimbānī's early education in Pattani, one of his contemporaries, Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (1176-1263/1763-1846) attended the same *pondok*.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, after an extensive search I found no evidence to corroborate this claim. Moreover, though the two were contemporaneous, it is very unlikely that they would have studied together, as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was a much younger contemporary to al-Falimbānī and not yet even born when al-Falimbānī was already in Zabīd by the year 1147/1734.

Further, my investigation to see if these *pondoks* already existed in the early eighteenth century has revealed no real evidence as to when the first *pondok* of Pattani was founded, or the dates of establishment of these schools or any records of their teachers.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, religious schools are essential components in any Muslim town and throughout the traditional Muslim world there was always a nexus between the people and the '*alamā*'. As well as taking into account that it is a common practice among the *Jāwē* to send their children at a very early age to such *pondok* to learn and acquire the basic Islamic religious knowledge which includes Qur'ānic recitation (*tilāwah*) with its art of intonation (*tafwīd*), as well as elements of *tanbīd*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl* (grammar), *ṣarf* (morphology),

ḥadīth, *taṣawwuf*, etc. Therefore, it is more than likely that al-Falimbānī must have studied at such local institutions apart from studying with his grandfather 'Abd al-Jalīl to acquire the basic Islamic knowledge before pursuing his studies further in the Islamic learning centres of the Arab world. Moreover, from his *nishah* al-Ashī discussed earlier, we have also concluded that he must have travelled and studied in Aceh, perhaps after studying in Kedah and Pattani. Though we do not have exact records on these travels, we do know that al-Falimbānī must have travelled and studied at these local institutions prior to 1147/1734 as we had deduced earlier that he was already in Zabīd by that year.

Later, after thirty five years of study and teaching in *al-Ḥaramayn*, thirty years in Mecca and five years in Medina and a sojourn in Zabīd, 'Abd as-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī together with his *Jāwī* contemporaries and friends, including Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī al-Miṣrī, were reported to have travelled back to the archipelago. Perhaps this travel back to the archipelago, the first recorded since al-Falimbānī left for his studies, was a brief travel undertaken to visit his family and relatives back home as we find him back in Mecca shortly after this travel. This journey already mentioned earlier, is recorded by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq h. Muḥammad 'Afīl al-Jāwī al-Banjārī (1857-1939) in two places. The first, in the genealogical account of his maternal grandfather Arshad al-Banjārī and his offspring entitled *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah al-Banjariyah*. The second, in a brief biographical account of al-Falimbānī's scholarship and travels written on the title page of the Singapore printed edition of his *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*. Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī informs us that his grandfather, Arshad al-Banjārī, together with 'Abd as-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, went back to the archipelago, first arriving at Penang and then continued on to Singapore and from thence to Batavia.⁷¹

According to Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī, they reached Batavia and stayed for two months, where they had scholarly discussions and debates on different Islamic religious issues, including the precise direction of *Qiblah* (the direction of the *Ka'bah* which one must face while praying) for the mosques in Batavia. These debates and discussions, according to Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī are recorded by Arshad al-Banjārī in his Malay record book entitled *Diwān Perjalanan Mawlana* or records of our master's travels

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any trace of this work. It was from Batavia that they separated to return to their homeland; Arshad al-Banjārī together with 'Abd al-Wahhāh al-Bagīsī, who later married his daughter Sharifah and became his son-in-law, continued to travel to Banjar and arrived in Ramaḍān 1186/November 1772, while 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself returned to Palembang.⁷²

Furthermore, we can now confirm the above stated travel as I found new evidence to substantiate this. According to the *nawā* of Batavia, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aqīl b. Yahyā al-'Alawī al-Batāwī (1237-1331/1822-1913) in his *Taḥrīr Aqwā al-Adillāh*, a work he compiled on Islamic jurisprudence and evidence on the obligation to face the precise direction of *Qiblah*, he points out that Arshad al-Banjārī was requested by the '*ulamā*' of Batavia, led by 'Abd al-Qahhār, to verify the precise direction of the *Qiblah* upon his arrival in Batavia on 2 Rabi' al-Ākhir 1186/3 July 1772. Later, based on his intellectual reasoning from the evidence of Islamic jurisprudence and his knowledge on '*ilm al-falak*' (astronomy), it was agreed that the precise direction of the *Qiblah* was twenty two and a half degrees to the right of the initial direction.⁷³

It is highly probable that during his first travel back to Palembang in 1186/1772, al-Falimbānī only stayed for a relatively short period and was soon to return back to Mecca. This theory can be supported as I found strong evidence to show that he was already back in Mecca by 1187/1773 when he completed his epistle on *jihād* entitled *Nayīḥat al-Muslīmīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn fī Faqlā'il al-Jihād* on the 25 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1187/14 August 1773. Also, perhaps it was his direct observations of the encroachment of the Dutch in the Archipelago during his home travel that inspired him to write his epistle on *jihād*.

The second and last journey of al-Falimbānī back to the Archipelago of which we have record is his travel to Kedah. As already discussed above, he is reported to have travelled to Kedah to meet Kedah's *nawā*, 'Abd al-Qādir. Upon his arrival, he was reported to have been invited by Tunku Muḥammad Sa'd and 'Abd al-Qādir to join the *jihād* against the Siamese where he was reported to have been killed by the Siamese in 1254/1839. It is important to remember that taking into account al-Falimbānī's advanced age, it is more likely that rather than being an actual participant in fighting, he was present there and was killed when

the concerted Siamese attack on Kedah took place. Thus, his second journey back to the Archipelago, this time to Kedah instead of Palembang, was in fact his last.

His Visits to Islamic Learning Centres in the Arab World: Zabīd, Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, at-Ṭā'if, Damascus and Egypt

There is no direct account available on his travels in the Arab world during his early life as a scholar. The only account that relates to his early travel to Islamic learning centres was from the already mentioned *Tawārīkh Silsilah*. According to this source, it was 'Abd al-Jalīl, the *muftī* of Kedah, who dispatched him and his half brother 'Abd al-Qādir to study in Mecca, Arabia.⁵ Probably, 'Abd al-Jalīl sent them both to Mecca after completing their elementary Islamic religious education in Kedah, Patani and Aceh as mentioned above. Unfortunately, no dates or any further information on this is supplied in this source.

However, by critically examining the list of al-Falimbānī's known teachers as mentioned in various sources, and based on the year of death and domicile of these teachers, and other contemporary scholars with whom he came into contact, as well as the dates he generally provides on completing his works, I was able to deduce his approximate dates of travel and sojourns in the Arab world as well as names of various Islamic learning centres he visited to study or teach.

Among his earliest teachers in Arabia was the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Zabīd, Yahyā b. 'Umar Maqbūl al-Ahdal. From the domicile of Yahyā al-Ahdal, not only do we learn that al-Falimbānī travelled to Zabīd to study with him, but we can also deduce that he was already in Zabīd at the latest by the year 1147/1734, before al-Ahdal's death. Another teacher of al-Falimbānī in Zabīd was Yahyā al-Ahdal's maternal nephew and student, Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal (1109-63/1697-1749).⁶ From known biographical details, Ahmad al-Ahdal was also an erudite scholar of Zabīd who inherited his uncle's knowledge and assumed his teaching activity after his death. Thus, it is very likely that al-Falimbānī studied with him after Yahyā al-Ahdal's death from 1147/1734 onwards and perhaps stayed with him till the late 1150s/1740s. This is

highly probable if we take into account the numerous Islamic religious disciplines that al-Falimbānī studied with him including *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafīr* (exegesis of Qur'ānic verses), sciences of *ḥadīth*, *tawhīd*, *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Principles of Islamic jurisprudence), *qawā'id al-fiqh* (Maxims of jurisprudence), *naḥw* and *ṣarf* (grammar and syntax).⁷³

It is evident that during his scholarship in Yemen, al-Falimbānī was not only able to establish a scholarly connection but later also forged a strong teacher-student nexus with Yemeni 'ulamā', especially with the al-Ahdal family in Zabīd.⁷⁴ Not only did he become the disciple of the *muftī* of Zabīd, Yahyā al-Ahdal, and consecutively also his maternal nephew and student, Aḥmad al-Ahdal, but in later years he also enjoyed a respected career as a teacher in Zabīd, where his students included among others, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ahdal who was also the *muftī* and grandson of Yahyā al-Ahdal. It is also important to point out that another *muftī* of Zabīd, Sulaymān al-Ahdal (1137-97/1724-82) was the son of Yahyā al-Ahdal and father of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ahdal respectively. Not only these three generations were esteemed 'ulamā' of Zabīd but all of them were appointed as the Shāfi'i *muftī* of Zabīd successively.

Evidently, Sulaymān al-Ahdal was contemporaneous to al-Falimbānī though probably al-Falimbānī was slightly older than him. As already mentioned, we know that Sulaymān al-Ahdal's father and son were teacher and student of al-Falimbānī respectively, it is therefore reasonable to assume that he came into contact with him as well during his sojourn in Zabīd, especially taking into account the fact that Sulaymān assumed the official role as the *muftī* after his father. However, we do not possess evidence to show that al-Falimbānī formally studied with him or instructed him. In any case, we can take it that they were contemporaries and most probably friends and fellow scholars.

Furthermore, from their teacher-student links, it can also be observed that unlike al-Falimbānī who studied directly under Yahyā al-Ahdal, Sulaymān al-Ahdal, as he points out, only studied the Qur'ān directly with his father and received other Islamic sciences by way of *ijāzah* from him, since he was only about ten years old when his father died. In addition to Yahyā al-Ahdal, both al-Falimbānī and Sulaymān al-Ahdal had mostly studied with the same Arab teachers, including scholars such as Aḥmad al-Ahdal, 'Umar b. Aḥmad as-Saqqāf al-Makkī,

'Aṣḥ' Allāh al-Miṣrī, 'Abd Allāh h. Ibrāhīm Mīrghānī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jawhārī and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Saḥārī.⁷⁸ According to al-Kattānī, Sulaymān al-Aḥdal was one of Murtaḍā az-Zahīdī's chief teachers in Yemen and the latter included a biographical notice on Sulaymān in his *Afīyyat as-Sanaḍ*. On the other hand, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was one of al-Falimbānī's teachers in Egypt, as we will see later. In addition, according to al-Fādānī, Sulaymān al-Aḥdal was also a student of 'Aqīḥ Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, who was also, as we will see later, a teacher of 'Abd as-Samad al-Falimbānī in Medina.⁷⁹ Thus, not only did al-Falimbānī have a strong teacher-student nexus with the al-Aḥdal family, he also constitutes part of the intellectual scholarly network in Zabīd through his teaching career there.

From al-Falimbānī's list of known teachers, I also have extracted evidence that in 1160/1747 he was already studying in Mecca with one of the prominent Meccan scholars, Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 1160/1747). Sālim al-Baṣrī himself was the son of the renowned seventeenth century Meccan *muhaddith* 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī al-Makkī (1048-1134/1638-1722), and like his father was also an authority on various Islamic religious disciplines especially in *ḥadīth* narrations. Unlike the numerous Islamic religious sciences al-Falimbānī studied with Aḥmad al-Aḥdal as mentioned earlier, he only studied two works with Sālim al-Baṣrī, namely *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, one of the six major canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Jārabardī's (d. 746/1345) *Sharḥ ash-Shaḥīyāh*, a commentary on a popular work on etymology *ash-Shaḥīyāh* by Ibn al-Ijāb (d. 646/1248).⁸⁰ This perhaps indicates that al-Falimbānī only studied with Sālim al-Baṣrī presumably in the last years of his life.

As I have already mentioned in the previous chapter, by examining references to the places and dates which al-Falimbānī usually provides when he began his works or completed them, we can extract some information on his intellectual life and literary activities. Furthermore, the list of his teachers that he often mentions in these works usually gives us clear indications as to when he studied with them. For instance, from the date of completion of his first scholarly work, *Zahrat al-Murīd* in Mecca in 1178/1765, not only do we learn that he studied with the visiting Egyptian professor of al-Azhar, Aḥmad h. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-

Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778), but he also mentioned some of his earlier teachers with whom he had studied prior to completing this work, such as 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azhārī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi'ī. Though no record on his date of birth is available from biographical dictionaries, this scholar was clearly born in Egypt and later, after completing his education at al-Azhar, migrated to Mecca, or, as al-Kattānī describes, he became *nazīl al-Ḥaramayn* (a resident of Mecca and Medina), where he died after 1186/1772.⁸¹

Furthermore, though the year of his migration to Mecca is unknown to biographers, what we can deduce from al-Falimbānī's *Zahrat al-Murīd* is that 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī must have migrated to Mecca prior to 1178/1765, as his *nisbah* was described by al-Falimbānī as "Shaykh 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Azhārī *thumma* (then later) al-Makkī"; thus, he has already migrated to Mecca when al-Falimbānī wrote his work.⁸² Probably, al-Falimbānī studied with 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī in Egypt before he migrated to Mecca as I have found further evidence that he also studied in Egypt with some of its prominent scholars such as Aḥmad ash-Shihāb b. 'Abd al-Fatūḥ b. Yūsuf al-Mujirī al-Mutlaḥwī (d. 1182/1767), Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Khalidī al-Jawharī (d. 1182/1768), Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Kharibtāwī al-Miṣrī (d. 1170/1757), and Muḥammad Murtaḍā Abū al-Fayḍ b. Muḥammad az-Zahidī (d. 1205/1790).⁸³

In addition to Zabīd and Egypt, based on the evidence from al-Fādānī's report, the year of death and domicile of his remaining teachers, he also travelled widely in the Arabian Peninsula to study in Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, at-Ṭā'if, and he also travelled to Damascus.⁸⁴

Al-Falimbānī was reported in general to have studied for thirty five years in *al-Ḥaramayn*; thirty years in Mecca and five years in Medina.⁸⁵ From the dates he himself provides, we know that his first three works were completed in Mecca between 1178/1765 and 1181/1767, and his next dated works were completed between 1187/1773 and 1203/1789, in Mecca and at-Ṭā'if. Thus we can deduce that the five years al-Falimbānī studied in Medina must have been from 1181/1767 to 1186/1772, before his first return journey back to his home country. This assumption is further supported by al-Falimbānī's own works. Among his teachers in Medina were Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurḍī al-Madanī (d.

1194/1780), who was the Shāfiʿī *muftī* of Islamic jurisprudence in the City of the Prophet SAW, and the highly venerated eighteenth century *Ṣūfī* master in Medina, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm as-Sammān (d. 1189/1775). Furthermore, by carefully examining al-Falimbānī's works, it is evident that he only studied with as-Sammān after 1181/1767, as none of his first three works mentioned as-Sammān but gave a clear indication that by that time he had not met him or become his disciple. On the other hand, all of his works written in 1187/1773 and afterwards never fail to mention his teacher as-Sammān whom he venerated highly and regarded as an exemplary '*walī qutb*' (pole in the mystical hierarchy of saints) of his time.

However, as I will follow with further discussions on his teachers in the next following chapters, suffice it to say here that by examining information regarding his teachers and his own works, we can highlight his travels and studies in Jeddah, al-Ṭāʾif, Zabīd, Egypt, and Damascus, in addition to his well-known lengthy sojourn in Mecca and Medina.

Al-Falimbānī's Characteristic

It is clear that ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī earned a distinguished position as one of the highly revered *Jāwī ulamāʾ* in the eighteenth century. Not only was he admired by his compatriots, but also by his Arab disciples through his teaching careers in Mecca and Zabīd. Therefore, he must have some distinguished character and distinctive personality. From his own works, one of his characteristics that we can extract is that he was a humble man as he always signed himself with the modest title, 'the servant of the poor in Mecca' (*khādīm al-fuqarāʾ fi Makkah*). It is a common practice among the traditional Islamic scholars and professors, particularly those with a *Ṣūfī* connection, to take pride in using modest titles such as 'servant of knowledge' (*khādīm al-ʿilm*), 'servant of Prophetic traditions' (*khādīm as-sunnah*), 'servant of the Qurʾān' (*khādīm al-Qurʾān*), 'servant of *ḥadīth* in the Sacred Precinct of Mecca' (*khādīm al-ḥadīth fi l-ḥaram al-Makkī*), 'servant of the scholars' (*khādīm al-ʿulamāʾ*), and so on.

However, it can be argued that the modest title *khādīm al-fuqarāʾ* that al-Falimbānī assigned to himself possibly tells us of his circumstances;

to be able to support and assist the poor, to some extent, he must have been well off financially. On the other hand, the *fiqarā* 'here may refer to the *ṣāfi* as well, perhaps combining too aspects of his personality. Furthermore, he himself clearly states that among the good deeds he encourages is to feed and give clothes to the poor and destitute.⁶⁵ Thus, it is not inconceivable to assume that he must have somehow received financial support probably from the Sultān of Kedah, perhaps through his grandfather who was the *naẓīr* of Kedah at that time, or possibly from the Sultān of Palembang who was known to be a patron of the '*ulamā*' of Palembang. The practice of supporting religious scholars and students is not unusual as it was the tradition of the rulers from the Archipelago to send financial support to the *Jāwī* '*ulamā*' and even purchase land and houses in Mecca for the purpose of establishing religious endowment (*waqf*). This is evident for instance, in the case of his contemporary, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, who was sent to study in Mecca by the Sultān of Banjar. The latter also bought him a house known as 'Barḥat Banjar' at his own expense.⁶⁶ We know that al-Fādānī lists among his Meccan teachers whom he met and studied with a certain 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī al-Makkī (d. 1370/1951), obviously a descendant of Arshad al-Banjārī. He attended his lectures both at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and at his residence 'Barḥat Banjar' in the district of ash-Shāmiyyah in Mecca.⁶⁷

Furthermore, al-Falimbānī's financial condition probably can be depicted from his biographical account recorded in the earlier mentioned *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. His closest student, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal says that "our shaykh did not see any value for this world, and his magnanimity and generosity are regarded as a wonder of wonders. One of his praiseworthy students [once] asked him for a book to get the blessing of it, [our Shaykh] admitted him to his private library (*khizānat kutubihī*) and said, "with pleasure, please take from it whatever you like" and he insisted on him to do so and the student took a number of precious books of great value."⁶⁸ Not only have we learned that al-Falimbānī was capable financially to acquire such books, but this also tells us that his sojourn in Zabīd must have been a considerable time, as he managed to collect a personal library, or perhaps he travelled with his books.

In addition, perhaps from Snouck Hurgronje's description of daily life and customs in Mecca in the late nineteenth century, we can extract evidence to help us understand similar financial circumstances to those experienced by al-Falimbānī and his contemporaries. According to him, during the hottest time of the year, the 'well to do' people of Mecca travels two days eastward to aṭ-Ṭā'if, where the air is so cool and the neighbouring gardens so beautiful that the Meccan tradition says, "God to please 'His neighbours' [i.e. the people of Mecca], has transplanted this piece of land [i.e. aṭ-Ṭā'if] from Syria to Arabia." However if the *Hajj* season falls in that time of year, this pleasure is lost to the Meccan; on the other hand if the heat reaches its highest point in the month of Ramaḍān, the fasting month, the Meccans then have a double advantage, escaping the summer heat, and for thirst, the worst hardship of the faster, is not a serious matter in aṭ-Ṭā'if.⁹¹

The customary tradition of the 'well to do' Meccan possibly can be used to support al-Falimbānī circumstances. We know that from his own writings, at least two of his works were completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if and presumably it was not a mere coincidence that both works, the second and fourth volumes of his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* were completed in Ramaḍān, on 19 Ramaḍān 1195/8 September 1781 and 20 Ramaḍān 1203/14 June 1789 respectively. Both would have been hot months in Mecca. Though this is the only record we have to show his sojourn in aṭ-Ṭā'if, possibly he travelled frequently to this mountainous city, especially, as one of his teachers was from aṭ-Ṭā'if.⁹² Perhaps al-Falimbānī was one of the 'well to do' Meccans of his times who retreated to aṭ-Ṭā'if during the hottest months, particularly if this coincided with Ramaḍān.

Another characteristic of al-Falimbānī is that he was a well versed scholar virtually in every Islamic religious and philological discipline, though his focus and attention was more towards Sūfism. This is evident from the testimony of 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal who describes him, among other things, as 'the great scholar' (*al-ʿālim*), 'the saint' (*al-walī*), 'the deeply understanding' (*al-fahhām*), 'the pious' (*at-taqī*) and 'notable of Islam' (*waḥīh al-Islām*). According to him, al-Falimbānī was one of the practicing scholars (*al-ʿulamāʾ al-ʿāmilīn*) and among those who had facility in virtually every aspect of the Islamic sciences who studied with the scholars of his period from among the people of

al-Ḥaramayn ash-Sharīfayn (Mecca and Medina). He added that al-Falimbānī was among the productive '*ulamā'*' and master of knowledge of many fields. But it was an indication of his great interest in Ṣūfism that he directed most of his attention to studying, explaining and teaching al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*.⁷³

In addition, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal points out that one aspect of his teacher's special method was that when a student came to him, he would ask him at length about his circumstances and once he realized that the student was consistent in a good trait, he would lengthen his praise on that trait, and he would expound on its rules and morals to increase the student adherence to it and ensure that he would be well informed with sufficient insight.⁷⁴ 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's intellectual personality is also obvious from the advice he gave to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal upon his student's arrival to meet him. As his student was a young *muftī*, he explained to him the ethics and manners of giving legal opinion (*fatwā*) and that a *muftī* ought to not be confined merely to the question being asked as this is not sufficient. For if he has knowledge of the situation [surrounding the questions] he must take it into consideration in his answer, as this has within it religious benefits that are known to the practitioner in this field.⁷⁵

It is important to remember that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal, while being a student of al-Falimbānī, was at the same time the *muftī* of Zahīd. Obviously to find a *muftī* studying with him and venerating him highly is more than enough evidence to demonstrate al-Falimbānī's esteemed position as a teacher in Zahīd. Furthermore, his advice on the ethics of *fatwā* certainly indicates that he himself was among the adepts who had facility in various Islamic religious sciences.

Another distinctive feature of al-Falimbānī's scholarship was that he was the ardent disciple of the leading *Sāfi* master, ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān. We can learn from his works that he was particularly known as his *khalīfah* (successor). Indeed al-Falimbānī in turn spread further al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order among his *Jāwī* students and among *Jāwī* pilgrims.⁷⁶

Further description of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's personality is recorded in part of a *qasīdah* already mentioned earlier in passing. This *qasīdah* was probably written by one of al-Falimbānī's students who

copied one of his works on modality of the *Khatm al-Qur'ān* (completion of reading of the entire Qur'ān), particularly on Wednesday afternoon, entitled *Kayfiyyat Khatm Yaumi ar-Rabū' fī Waqt al-'Aṣr*.⁵⁷ The poem reads as follows:

yudīmu nī' matahu mā li-ayyānu dā'imatan
Continuous blessing as long as days last
'alā 'l-halālī qad 'alā fakhran 'alā 'l-halālī
Upon he who has excelled in honour over this city (Mecca)
ash-Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad qad 'azza jānibulu
Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad who became highly respected
bī 'l-'ilmi wa 'l-ḥilmi wa 'l-iḥsāni wa 'l-madadī
With knowledge, forbearance, charity and assistance
mulāzīm al-Ḥarami al-Makkī dā'imatan
Constantly devoting himself in al-Ḥaram Mosque
yaḥfizu bī 'l-bayti wa 'l-arkāni muṭṭahidī
Circumambulating the Ka'bah and its corners with diligence
kadhālika al-khamsata al-awqātu mulāzīmūn
Likewise to the five daily prayers he is devoted
ma'a 'l-jamā'ati da'imūn fī masā' wa-ghadi
Joining the congregational prayers consistently evening and morning
yaḥijju fī kullī 'āmin laysā yaḥṭa'uha
Yearly performing the Hajj without fail
hudhā sa'ikan rashīdan dā'imū 'l-abadī
This is everlasting happiness and eternal guidance
bī-ḥubbi dī 'n-nabī lāzūla ma'taqidau⁵⁸
To the love of the Family of the Prophet SAW he always adhere
Allāh yar'āhu min sā'in wa-min nakadī
May Allāh safeguard him from evil and fractiousness
Ash-Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad lāzūla fī nī'amin
May Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad thrive in blessed bounty
wa-fī sālahin wa-mahfūzin min 'l-ḥasadi
In goodness and protected from envy
wa-man ya'ādīhi fī sā'in wa-fī ta'abin
And may whoever antagonizes him fall in hardship and exhaustion
wa-fī balā'in wa-fī hanūnin wa-min nakadī
And in adversity, solicitude and fractiousness
muḥibbu āli 'n-nabī lāzūla murtuqiyān⁵⁹
In his love of the Prophet's SAW family may he continue to ascend

wa-man yu'ādīhi fi ghawmin wa-fi kamadi
 And may whoever opposes him fall in solicitude and dejection
yā Shaykh 'Abd as-Šamad abshir bi-khayrāt
 O Shaykh 'Abd as-Šamad rejoice with the tidings of blessing
duyā wa-ukhrā wa-sa'din dā'imān abadi
 In this World and in the Hereafter, with lasting felicity
wa 's-sa'du lāzala bi 'l-awlādī muqtarinan
 And may happiness continue upon your children
fadam wa-'ish fi haṣū 'ayshin wa-fi raghadī
 So live continuously with happiness and in abundance
'alayka minī sulāman dā'imān abadi
 Upon you my lasting salutation without end
mādāma yuktaba fi abyadīn bi 's-sawādi
 As long as black [ink] is written on white [paper]

Finally, in addition to being widely known as a *ṣūfī* scholar, it is clear that, as a jurist, al-Falimbānī adhered to the Shāfi'i *Madhhab*, and was a follower of the Ash'arite School of Islamic theology. This is evident from one of his own writings as he describes himself as "'Abd as-Šamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī ash-Shāfi'i al-Ash'arī as-Sūfi."¹⁰⁰ He is mostly known as a *Ṣūfī* scholar because of his great interest in *Ṣūfism* for which he devoted most of his writings, particularly studying and teaching al-Ghazālī's writings especially his *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-dīn* and *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*. He was also a *faqīh* (jurist) as he authored at least two works specifically on *fiqh*, in addition to the numerous *masā'il fiqhīyyah* (questions on jurisprudence) in his other writings. Perhaps this is why al-Fādānī also refers to al-Falimbānī as the manifold old scholar and the old or long-lived jurist; 'al-'Alīmah al-Mu'ammār ash-Shaykh 'Abd as-Šamad" and as 'al-Faqīh al-Mu'ammār 'Abd as-Šamad."¹⁰¹

Endnotes

¹⁰⁰ The transliteration of his *nisbah* "al-Falimbānī" is recorded in modern works with different spellings, namely al-Palimbānī, al-Palimbānī, al-Filimbānī, al-Falimbānī, al-Falimbānī, etc. This word is derived from the Arabicized form, in a similar way that Aceh is spelt as Ashl' in Arabic, Padang as Fādān, Langkat as Lānkāt, Lampong as Lāmḥūn, etc.

- 2 All people of Malay race in Arabia are included under this name. Jāwī (plural Jāwāh or Jāwīyyīn) and all lands populated by them are called inclusively *Bilād al-Jāwāh*. See Hurgonje. *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*. p. 215.
- 3 See Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Sūtsilah*, p. 207.
- 4 Al-Ashā is a *nisbah* derived from Aceh of North Sumatra. See al-Fādūnī. *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 16, 17, 29, 80, 122; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 16, 43, 47, 48, 60, 77, passim; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; idem, *al-Qawṭ al-Jamīl Bi-ljāzāt Samā'iat as-Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. 'Aqīl* (Jakarta, Attahāriyah, s.a.), p. 21; al-Falimbūnī, Mukhtār. *Bulūgh al-Anwār*, vol. 1, p. 169.
- 5 See below, for exceptions.
- 6 See Voorhoeve, P., "'Abd al-Šamad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Palimbūnī" in *EF*, vol. 1, p. 92.
- 7 See Chambert-Loir, "'Abduššamad al-Falimbūnī Sebagai Ulama Juwa," pp. vi, x.
- 8 See al-Falimbūnī. 'Abd aš-Šamad, *Zahrāt al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (MSS Leiden University). Or. 7313, p. 2b; Or. 7667, p. 2a. Cf. Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 5-6.
- 9 For a list of his works, see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 41.
- 10 See al-Falimbūnī. 'Abd aš-Šamad, *Zahrāt al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (MS Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia). MI 180, fol. 2.
- 11 See Abdullah. *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 5, 6, 9; idem, *Al-'Urwatul Wutsqa*, p. v.
- 12 See Ibn al-Faqlī, 'Abd aš-Šamad b. Faqlī Ḥusayn b. Faqlī Muḥammad. *Anīs al-Muttaqlīn* (lithographic reproduction, s.l., s.n., s.a.), p. 3; (MSS University of Leiden). Or. 7049, p. 65.
- 13 See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 131; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 9, p. 43.
- 14 Further discussion will follow in Chapter 5.
- 15 See Qurwain. *Mengenal Allah*, p. 4; Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Asia Tenggara I* (Solo, Ramadhani, 1985), p. 90; Abdullah, Hawash, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya, Al Ikhlas, 1930), p. 90. Abdullah reported that he visited the graveyard of 'Abd al-Jalīl in 1992 which is situated in Tanjung Pauh, Jitra, Kedah, and the inscription on the tombstone tells us that he died in 1196/1782: see Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 9; idem, *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur, Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara & Khazanah Fathariyah, 2000), vol. 8, p. 27.

- ¹⁶ See Muḥammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, pp. 1, 206-7, 419. The Romanised version was later published as *al-Tārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah* by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1968.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 207, 419.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-7.
- ¹⁹ See al-Fūdīnī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; *idem*, *Ikḥāf al-Bararah*, p. 10; *idem*, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 6, 134; *idem*, *an-Naḥḥat al-Miskīyyah*, p. 5; *idem*, *Nahy as-Salāmah fī Iḥzāh as-Saḥī Ahḥad Ahḥmad Salāmah* (1st edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1409/1989), p. 10; *idem*, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 22; al-Falimbārī, *Mukhtār*, *Bahāgh al-Anḥāl*, vol. 1, pp. 43, 169; vol. 3, p. 21.
- ²⁰ See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113.
- ²¹ See al-Falimbārī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī, *Zahrat al-Murūd fī Bayān Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* (Mecca, Maḥḥat al-Taraqqī al-Mājidīyyah, 1331/1912), pp. 1, 2, 12; (MS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 1906, p. 2. A lithographed copy of another manuscript which bears the name 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān is also printed in Abdullah, *Hudayatus Salikūn Shaykh Abduḥ Sūmad*, vol. 3, p. 183.
- ²² See al-Falimbārī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā*, (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2086, pp. 1, 2, 21. Cf. *idem*, *op. cit.*, MSS 2490, fol. 38; MSS 2865, fol. 13.
- ²³ See al-Falimbārī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī, *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSFB 1004, fol. 1.
- ²⁴ Zabīd is a town on Yemen's western coastal plain. The town, named after Wādī Zabīd, is one of the oldest towns in Yemen: it was the capital of Yemen from the 13th to the 15th century and a renowned centre of Islamic learning. Its standing is attested not only in local histories but also in local historical memory today as the local drivers, according to Feener still shout out: "Zabīd, madīnat al-'ulamā'" (Zabīd, City of the Scholars!) upon approaching the city. See Feener, "Yemeni Sources for the History of Islam in Indonesia," pp. 131-2. According to 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddh, the family of al-Aḥdal in the City of Zabīd, Yemen, is a house of ancient knowledge inherited from its merits and in particular the science of the *Qur'ān*, *Ḥadīth*, *Fiqh* and *Fatwā* that it became renowned, and during his first visit to Zabīd in 1398 1977, one of his Yemeni teachers said "If you need to ask any question on *fiqh*, you should knock at the door of the house of al-Aḥdal and you will get the answer." The City of Zabīd

is described as the 'Azhār of Yemen' and the meeting place for 'ulamā' and students from faraway lands. See Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fatāwā*, p. 467.

²⁵ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamāni*, p. 138.

²⁶ In all his works, al-Fādānī recorded 'Abd al-Rahmān as the father of al-Falimbānī. See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, passim; idem, *Ḥajj al-Bararah*, p. 12; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, passim; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Bulḍāniyyah*, *Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan 'an Arba'ūn Shaykhan min Arba'ūn Baladan* (2nd edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1407/1987), p. 66. Cf. al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 43; vol. 3, pp. 6, 7, 20, 21, 25, 36, 50, 54, 62, 66, 80, passim; al-Tarmasī (d. 1338/1920), Muḥammad Maḥfūz b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Mannān al-Jawī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid li-mā 'Alā Lada 'l-Tarmasī min 'l-Asā'id*, annotated by Muḥammad Yāsīn b. Muḥammad 'Isā al-Fādānī al-Makkī (5th edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1408/1987), p. 6.

See Qudṣ (d. 1334/1915), 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Jawī al-Makkī, *al-Furūqāt al-Qudsiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Tawḥīdāt al-Sammāniyyah al-Muṣammāt Jāliyat al-Kurān wa-Munīlat al-'Arab* (Cairo, al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥamidiyyat al-Miṣriyyah, 1323/1905), pp. 5-6; al-Ḥabshī, *'Iqd al-Yawqūt al-Jawharīyyah*, vol. 1, p. 91. al-Ḥabshī's *'Iqd al-Yawqūt* is said to be the largest *thabat* ever printed, in addition to his two other works on *thabat* titled *'Uqūd al-La'āl fī Asā'id ar-Rijāl*, a much smaller work than the *'Iqd al-Yawqūt*; and the other work said to be only available in its manuscript copy entitled *Minḥat al-Fatāwā al-Fāfir bi-Dhikr Asā'id as-Sādāt al-Akḥār*. I have located a printed edition of this work held at the King Fahd National Library, Jeddah, but unfortunately was unable to consult it. See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Yamanī, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī fī 'l-Yaman* (Abu Dhabi, al-Mujamma' ath-Thaqāfī, 1425/2004), pp. 81-2; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 17; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 591, 866-8; al-Mālikī, Muḥammad b. 'Alawī al-Ḥasanī, *al-'Uqūd al-La'āl bi-'l-Asā'id al-'Alawiyyah*, pp. 70-1.

²⁷ See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113.

²⁸ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamāni*, p. 138.

²⁹ See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113. Cf. Abdullah, Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari: Pengarang Sabit al-Muhtadin* (1st edition, Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyyah, 1990), pp. 116-22.

- ⁹¹ See Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, pp. 5, 7, 30; idem, "Syekh 'Abd al-Shamad al-Pulimbānī," pp. 184-2.
The coronation of this ruler took place immediately upon his arrival in Kedah in 1122/1710. According to Milles, there is a coin of this ruler dated 1154/1741; see Milles, 'Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes de l'Archipel Indien et de la Péninsule Malaise' (1871), p. 133, quoted from Winstedt, R.O., "History of Kedah," *JSRAS*, 81 (1920), p. 34.
- ⁹² Azra mistakenly assumed that 'Abd al-Jalīl was appointed as *Qādī* instead of *muftī*. However, according to the *Tawārīkh*, 'Abd al-Jalīl was appointed as the *muftī* of Kedah upon his arrival in 1122/1710 until he died in 1196/1782. Cf. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 113; Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Salsilah*, pp. 129-34; Abdullah, *Syekh Abdas Shamad*, p. 9.
- ⁹³ Interestingly, I was informed by my colleague that even up to the present day, the current *muftī* of Zabīd, Shaykh al-'Izz comes from the al-Ahdal family. Without doubt, this shows the continuous important role played by the al-Ahdal family in the Islamic religious teaching and learning especially in Zabīd.
- ⁹⁴ See al-Fiddīnī, *al-'Uqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wajīd*, p. 48; al-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.
- ⁹⁵ See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 65.
- ⁹⁶ See Hurgonje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 186-7, 254.
- ⁹⁷ See for instance 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 1391/1971), 'Umar, *Sīyar wa-Tardjīm Ba'd 'l-'Ulamā' indī fl 'l-Qarn ar-Rābi' 'Ashar li 'l-Hijrah* (3rd edition, Jeddah, Tihāmah, 1403/1982), p. 288; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyān*, vol. 1, pp. 305, 320, 407; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqd al-La'āl*, p. 159.
- ⁹⁸ This age was taken into consideration base on historical sources that cited students from the archipelago travels to the Arabian Peninsula especially to *al-Haramayn* at a very young age. Most of them initially come to perform the pilgrimage and eventually abide for their studies.
- ⁹⁹ Chapters 3 and 5.
- ⁴¹ See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 114. Cf. Quzwain, "Syekh 'Abd al-Shamad al-Pulimbānī," p. 182.
- ⁴² See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138.
- ⁴³ See al-Buṣṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 5, p. 235.
- ⁴⁴ See al-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote. For a list of al-Tarmasī's works, see Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 42.

- ⁴³ See for instance al- al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 10, 11, 16, 19, 25, 28, 29, 48, 49, 52, 59; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 47, 50, 54, 60, passim; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulāgh al-Anānī*, vol. 3, pp. 21, 62, 66.
- ⁴⁴ See Abd. Rachman, "Nawawī al-Bantānī: An Intellectual Master of the Pesantren Tradition," *Studia Islamika*, 3, 3 (1996), p. 86; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sīyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 288.
- ⁴⁵ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 6, 8, 68, 101, 105, 119, 120, 124, 130, 148; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 9, 12, 90, 113, 114, 123, 124, 131, 140, 142; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulāgh al-Anānī*, vol. 3, p. 52.
- ⁴⁶ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 776-7; al-Ḥajrāwī, *Nizhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 331; Zabārah, *Nayf al-Wajar*, vol. 2, p. 267.
- ⁴⁷ See Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, pp. 228-36.
- ⁴⁸ See Vella, Walter F., *Siam Under Rama III 1824-1851* (Germany, J.J. Augustin Gluckstadt, 1957), pp. 60-72; Kennedy, J., *A History of Malaya* (2nd edition, London, Macmillan; New York, St Martin's Press, 1970), p. 116; Corfield, Justin (ed.), *Rama III and the Siamese Expedition to Kedah in 1839. The Dispatches of Luang Udomsombhat*, trans. Cyril Skinner (Clayton, Monash University, 1993), pp. 8-20; Bonney, R., *Kedah 1771-1821 The Search for Security and Independence* (London, Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 161-7; Smith, Ronald Bishop, *Siam or the History of the Thais from 1569 A.D. to 1824 A.D.* (Maryland, Decatur Press Inc., 1967), p. 128; Wood, W.A.R., *A History of Siam From the Earliest Times to the Year AD. 1781, with a Supplement dealing with more recent events* (Bangkok, Chulernnit Bookshop, 1959), p. 276; Malek, Mohd Zamberi, *Usat Islam Patani Sejarah dan Politik* (Shah Alam, Hizbi, 1993), pp. 107-12; Terwiel, B. J., *A History of Modern Thailand 1767-1942* (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1983), pp. 145-6; Syukri, Ibrahim, *History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani*, trans. C. Bailey and J. N. Miksic (Athens, Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1985), pp. 50-4; Tecuw, A. and Wyatt, D. K., *Hikayat Patani: The History of Patani* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), p. 23; Winstedt, R.O., "History of Kedah," *JSRAS*, 81 (1920), p. 35.
- ⁴⁹ See Yusof, Wan Shamsudin Mohd., *Kedah Darulaman Dalam Sejarah Liku-Liku Perjuangan Menuju Kemerdekaan 1791-1957* (Alor Setar, Lembaga Muzium Negeri Kedah Darulaman, 1992), pp. 13-4. A copy of this letter can be found printed in this book. Cf. idem, *Perhwayatan Sheikh Abdul Samad al-Falimbani dan Sambungannya Dalam Peperangan Menentang Siam di Kedah*, paper presented in "Seminar Pemikiran Ulama:

- Shaykh Abdus Samad al-Falimbānī" (Alor Setar, Kedah, 30 December 2002), pp. 8-9.
- ³³ See al-Falimbānī, *Abd as-Šamad. Rāṭib Shaykh 'Abd as-Šamad al-Falimbānī* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2367, fols. 57, 59.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 84-86.
- ³⁵ See Vella, *Siam Under Rama III*, p. 72; Corfield (ed.), *Rama III and The Siamese Expedition*, p. 20.
- ³⁶ See al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2269, fol. 29; idem, *Rāṭib*, MSS 2367, fol. 57. A lithographed copy of MSS 2269 is printed in Abdullah, *Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, pp. 166-248.
- ³⁷ See al-Falimbānī, *Rāṭib*, MSS 2367, fol. 59; idem, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2269, fol. 29; Abdullah, *Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, pp. 29, 228.
- ³⁸ Further discussion in Chapter 5.
- ³⁹ See Andaya, Barbara Watson, and Ishii, Yoneo, "Religious Developments in Southeast Asia, c. 1500-1800," in Tarling, Nicholas (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: From C. 1500 to C. 1800* (4 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), vol. 2, p. 216.
- ⁴⁰ See al-Āshf, 'Abd as-Salām b. Idrīs, *Muḥimmāt an-Nafā'is fī Bayān As-'ilāt al-Ḥādīth* (Mecca, Maṭba'at Faṭḥ al-Karīm al-Islāmiyyah, 1310/1892), p. 42.
- ⁴¹ See al-Bayṣūrī, *Ḥilyat al-Baḥār*, vol. 1, p. 241.
- ⁴² See Abdullah, *Syeikh 'Abdus Shamad al-Falimbani dan Angkatannya Dalam Tamadun Keilmuan Melayu* (Alor Setar, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka; Jabatan Hal Ehwal Agama Islam Kedah, 2002), pp. 4-5; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, pp. 2-3; al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 122; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 118; Mamdūḥ, *Tashnīf al-Asmā'*, p. 143.
- ⁴³ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, *passim*; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 22, 23, 43, 44, 46, *passim*; idem, *al-Fayd ar-Rafū'īn*, p. 14; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, pp. 6, 7, 20, 21, 25, 36, *passim*.
- ⁴⁴ See Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 9, pp. 43-9; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 30; idem, *Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, pp. 1-2; idem, "Peranan Ulama' Dalam Silat: Kepentingan dan Keselariannya Suatu Persamaan dari Aspek budaya dan Agama" paper presented at Seminar Ulama Berjawa Panglima (International Islam University Malaysia, 21st December 2003), pp. 16-8.
- ⁴⁵ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 113; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 117.
- ⁴⁶ See Mamdūḥ, *Ṭhām al-Qāsi*, p. 66; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163.

- ⁶⁸ See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 165; vol. 3, p. 7; Mumdūh, *I'lām al-Qāwī*, p. 66; idem, *Tashūif al-Asmā'*, p. 331; Abdullah, *Persebaran Islam*, vol. 9, p. 49.
- ⁶⁹ Further discussion on this *qasidah* will follow shortly at the end of this chapter.
- ⁷⁰ For further discussion on his early learning, see Abdullah, *Syeikh Abduh Shamad*, pp. 33-4; idem, *Syeikh Abdash Shamad Al-Falimbam*, p. 5.
- ⁷¹ See Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fajānī: Utama Dan Pengarang Terbilang Asia Tenggara* (1st edition, Shah Alam, Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990), p. 32.
- ⁷² See Mahmud, Hasan, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani* (Bangi, Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002), especially p. 12.
- ⁷³ See al-Banjāri, Şiddiq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 6-7; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abduh Shamad*, p. 173.
- ⁷⁴ See al-Banjāri, Şiddiq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 7-9; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abduh Shamad*, p. 173.
- ⁷⁵ See al-Banāwī, *Tahrir Aqwā al-Adillah*, p. 1; al-Banjāri, Şiddiq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 7.
- ⁷⁶ See Muhammad, *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, p. 207.
- ⁷⁷ See al-Fādlīnī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 15, 30, 38, *passim*; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 46, 61-2, 67, *passim*.
- ⁷⁸ See al-Fādlīnī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 15, 30, 38, 44, 54, 57, 64, 71, 72, 78, 82, 83, 107, 111; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 46, 61-2, 67, 77, 80, 84, 88, 95, 97, *passim*.
- ⁷⁹ The reason for this family to be known as 'al-Ahdal' was that contemporaries of their progenitor as-Sayyid 'Alī denominate him with the title 'al-Ahdal' due to numerous people receiving religious guidance from him that they describe him as 'alā 'l-ilāh dal' (the one who leads to the path of God). Due to difficulty in enunciation, this description was later extricated and become 'Ahdal,' hence known as Ahdali or al-Ahdal. See al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-'Aḥdāl*, p. 6.
- ⁸⁰ For information on Sulaymān's *ijāzah* and list of teachers, see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 30-6; as-Sindi, *Hayr ash-Sharīd*, vol. 1, pp. 156, 157, 173, 335; al-Fādlīnī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 32; idem, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 51; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1128-9.
- ⁸¹ See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53.
- ⁸² See al-Fādlīnī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 123; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170; vol. 3, p. 50.
- ⁸³ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 121, 149, 200, 532, 535; vol. 2, pp. 903, 985, 1128.

- ⁸⁷ See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 5.
- ⁸⁸ See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 261; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 18, 52, 109, 128, 137, 143, 146, 148; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 44, 50, 70, 117-8, 119, 130, 133, 134, 137, 139, 140; idem, *Ithāf al-Bararāh*, p. 12; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 97-102; idem, *Ithāf al-Jāh al-Sirrī*, pp. 81-5; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār. *Bulāgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170. See also below, Chapter 3.
- ⁸⁹ On the evidence of al-Falimbānī's travels to Egypt and Damascus, see Chapter 3.
- ⁹⁰ See al-Banjārī, Šiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 6-7; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.
- ⁹¹ See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 2.
- ⁹² See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, p. 224.
- ⁹³ See al-Banjārī, Šiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 5; Abdullah, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari*, p. 14; Steenbrink, Karel A., 'Shaykh Mohammad Arsyad al-Banjari 1710-1812. Tokoh Fiqh dan Tasawuf,' in his *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, Bulan Bintang, 1984), p. 92.
- ⁹⁴ See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār. *Bulāgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 59.
- ⁹⁵ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 140; Appendix 1.
- ⁹⁶ See Hurgonje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, p. 41.
- ⁹⁷ See Chapter 3.
- ⁹⁸ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 138-9; Appendix 1.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 139.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 140.
- ¹⁰¹ See al-Falimbānī, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fol. 13; idem, *Zaid al-Muttaqīn*, MS 1004, fol. 2.
- ¹⁰² The word *ar-Rabū* is the Yemeni form of pronouncing of *al-Arbi'ā* (Wednesday) to this day. This perhaps indicates the influence of Yemeni Arabic on al-Falimbānī. See al-Falimbānī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī, *Kayfiyyat Khatm Yaum ar-Rabū fī Wāqt al-'Aṣr* (MSS National Library of Malaysia), MS 2669(C), fols. 64-65; Abdullah, *Al-'Urwatul Wutsqa*, pp. 150-2.
- ¹⁰³ The text has 'yuhilbu 'alā,' which is clearly a scribe's error.
- ¹⁰⁴ The text wrongly has 'nuqtarunin.'
- ¹⁰⁵ See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 267. It is customary for scholars of this period to list their scholarly and Ṣūfī affiliations.
- ¹⁰⁶ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 5, 77.